

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY: EA/PRCM: L. BUSHNELL

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FOLLOWING REPEAT PARIS 24147 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO MOSCOW
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QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 24147

DEPT PASS USLO PEKING FOR INFO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR, CH, UR

SUBJECT: QUAI VIEWS OF PRC TENTH PARTY CONGRESS

SUMMARY: QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR ASIA DUZER THOUGHT
CCP TENTH PARTY CONGRESS RESULTED IN FURTHER CONSOL-
IDATION OF CHO EN-LAI'S CONTROL IN CHINA. IN
ADDITION TO REDUCING FURTHER THE ROLE OF "LEFTIST"
ELEMENTS, THE CONGRESS ALSO RESULTED IN A REDUCTION
OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S DIRECT POWER. DUZER THOUGHT
THE CONSIDERABLE ESCALATION IN ANTI-SOVIET RHETORIC
WAS PERHAPS MORE DESIGNED TO COVER CHOU'S OVERTURES
TO THE US AND JAPAN THEN TO ALERT CHINESE PEOPLE
TO SOVIET THREAT. END SUMMARY.

1. IN THE MIDST OF PREPARATIONS FOR HIS DEPARTURE
FOR PEKING WITH PRESIDENT POMPIDOU'S PARTY, QUAI
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DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR ASIA, DUZER, DISCUSSED WITH

EMBOFF SEPT. 10 THE FRENCH VIEWS FOR THE RECENT CCP TENTH PARTY CONGRESS. CHARACTERIZING CONGRESS AS ANOTHER COUP BY CHOU. DUZER SAID THE FIRST COUP WAS THE SECOND PLENUM OF 1970, AND THE SECOND WAS IN 1971 WHEN HE ELIMINATED LIN PIAO AND CHEN PO-TA. WITH THIS THIRD COUP, CHO FURTHER CONSOLIDATED HIS OWNPOWER. DUZER SAW ALL OF THE EVENTS SINCE 1970 AS ALSO CONTRIBUTING TO A REDUCTION IN MAO'S POWER, THROUGH THE ELIMINATION OF CHEN AND LIN AND NOW THE NAMING OF FIVE DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF THE PARTY WHO WOULD BE INDIVIDUALLY MORE RESPONSIVE TO CHOU THAN MAO. IT WAS PERHAPS SYMBOLIC THAT MAO DID NOT EVEN SPEAK AT THE TENTH CONGRESS, WHEREAS HE DELIVERED THE REPORT AT THE NINTH. DUZER THOUGHT THAT THERE CONTINUED TO BE RESISTANCE TO CHOU'S LEADERSHIP IN THE PARTY, BUT IT WAS HARD TO DETERMINE WHAT WAS THE EXTENT OF OPPOSITION AND THE DEGREE TO WHICH CHOU HAD TO TAKE IT INTO CONSIDERATION IN MAKING POLICY.

2. DUZER THOUGHT THAT THE DOWNGRADING OF CHIANG CH'ING AND YAO WEN-YUAN WAS THE MOST STRIKING ASPECT OF THE PERSONNEL CHANGES. THE LINE-UP, COMPOSED OF OLD FIGURES AND A FEW NEW FACES, WAS NOT IN GENERAL EXCEPTIONAL, BUT THE CHINESE WOULD OBVIOUSLY SEE A GREAT LOSS OF FACE FOR CHIANG AND YAO IN THEIR SLIPPAGE IN THE HIERARCHY. DUZER WAS A LITTLE SUPRISED TO FIND THAT LI HSIEN-NIEN, CHOU'S FAITHFUL FOLLOWER, DID NOT RISE IN THE HIERARCHY TO MAKE THE STANDING COMMITTEE. THE ADDITION OF CHOU'S FOLLOWERS SUCH AS CH'I P'ENG-FEI, CH'IAO KUAN-HUA AND HUANG HUA TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PERHAPS COMPENSATES FOR THE LACK OF RESTORATION OF IMPORTANT PARTY POSITIONS TO TENG HSIAO-PING, TAN CHEN-LIN ETC.

3. DUZER THOUGHT THAT THE REPORT TO THE TENTH CONGRESS GAVE SOME INDICATION OF THE LINE THE FRENCH COULD EXPECT IN DISCUSSING EUROPE WITH CHOU. DUZER ANTICIPATED A REPEAT OF THE BASIC THEME THAT

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THERE IS BOTH RIVALRY AND COLLUSION BETWEEN THE GREAT POWERS (THE US AND USSR), BUT THE RIVALRY WAS MORE FUNDAMENTAL AND IMPORTANT THAN THE COLLUSION. COLLUSION COULD ONLY BE TEMPORARY AND ILLUSORY BECAUSE THE USSR WAS REALLY WORKING FOR WORLD DOMINATION. AS FOR EUROPE, IT WAS THE AREA OF THE WORLD IN WHICH THE US/USSR RIVALRY AND COLLUSION WERE ACCENTUATED, BECAUSE CONTROL OVER WESTERN EUROPE

WAS THE MAJOR SOVIET TARGET AT THIS TIME.

4. DUZER WAS STRUCK BY CHOU'S REFERENCE TO THE WEST AS CONSCIOUSLY TRYING TO PUSH THE USSR TO MOVE TOWARD THE EAST, CHINA. THE USUAL LINE WAS THAT THE USSR WAS LEADING THE WESTERN POWERS ASTRAY BY ITS "COLLUSION" SO THAT IT WOULD BE ABLE TO TURN ITS ATTENTION EAST, BUT IN THE NEW FORMULATION CHOU SEEMED TO BE REFERRING TO OSTPOLITIK AND CSCE AS WESTERN POLICIES WHICH MIGHT BE DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE THE USSR TO MOVE EAST. THIS WAS A NEW NOTE IN THE PRC LINE, WHICH DUZER HOPED CHOU WOULD CLARIFY DURING THEIR TRIP TO PEKING. THE CHOU WARNING TO THE WEST THEREFORE WAS COMPOSED OF TWO PARTS: WARNING THE WEST (FOR ITS OWN BENEFIT) AGAINST BEING TAKEN IN BY THE USSR AND WARNING THE WEST (A THREAT FOR CHINA'S BENEFIT) NOT TO DO KNOWINGLY THINGS WHICH SERVED SOVIET INTERESTS AGAINST CHINA.

5. DUZER THOUGHT THAT THE SOMEWHAT EXAGGERATED ANTI-SOVIET LINE TAKEN BY CHOU WAS PERHAPS DESIGNED MORE TO PROVIDE A RATIONALE FOR HIS POLICIES OF DETENTE WITH THE US AND JAPAN THAN TO HIGHLIGHT THE REAL CONCERN ABOUT SOVIET INTENTIONS. ONLY IF THE SOVIET DANGER WERE SO HEIGHTENED WOULD IT SEEM REASONABLE (TO THE CHINESE) FOR CHOU TO HAVE MADE THE DECISIVE SHIFT VIS-A-VIS THE ARCH-IMPERIALIST POWER. DUZER THOUGHT THAT THE ACCUSATIONS THAT LIN PIAO HAD CONNIVED WITH THE SOVIETS WAS PURE INVENTION, BUT IT SHOWED THE IMPORTANCE OF TIEING TOGETHER CHOU'S INTERNATIONAL POLICIES AND THE INTERNAL FIGHT AGAINST LIN PIAO. THE RELATIVELY POPULAR ANTI-SOVIET LINE WAS NEEDED
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TO SMEAR LIN PIAO BECAUSE SOME OF HIS FORMER COLLAGUES AND SUPPORTERS WERE STILL A FORCE TO BE RECKONED WITH. IN ADDITION TO THE USUAL IDEOLOGICAL POINTS IN THIS ESCALATION OF THE ANTI-SOVIET INVECTIVE, THERE WERE ALSO SOME DIRECT PROVOCATIONS SUCH AS CHOU'S CALL FOR THE USSR TO WITHDRAW TROOPS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND MONGOLIA AND TO RETURN THE KURILES TO JAPAN. IT WAS A SIGNIFICANT SHIFT FOR THE PRC TO TAKE SIDES WITH THE FORMER ENEMY, JAPAN, AGAINST THE FORMER OPPONENT OF "FASCISM".

6. SINCE DUZER'S VIEWS OF THE TENTH PARTY CONGRESS WERE ADDED TO POMPIDOU'S BRIEFING PAPERS FOR THE CHINA VISIT, THEY MAY INFLUENCE THE FRENCH PARTY'S

VIEW OF THE CHINA SCENE.

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